

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 116998

FOLLOWING REPEAT MAPUTO 591 ACTION VIENNA INFO USUN NEW YORK
GENEVA SECSTATE MAY 18.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0591

DEPARTMENT FOR S/S TARNOFF

GENEVA FOR SPIEGEL WITH SECRETARY'S PARTY

VIENNA FOR LAKE AND MCHENRY WITH VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY

FROM USDEL

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR US XA
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S MAPUTO SPEECH

REF: VIENNA 3864

FOLLOWING IS LATEST DRAFT OF SPEECH AMBASSADOR YOUNG WILL
DELIVER AT MAPUTO CONFERENCE MAY 19, PROBABLY LATE MORNING:

1. QUOTE: "FELLOW DELEGATES, BROTHERS: I WOULD LIKE TO THANK
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THE SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE FOR ENABLING ME AND MY COL-
LEAGUES ON THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO JOIN THIS EFFORT
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO EXPRESS DEEPLY HELD
VIEWS ABOUT THESE TWO CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

2. "I CONGRATULATE SECRETARY GENERAL WEALDHEIM AS WELL AS
AMBASSADOR SALIM AND AMBASSADOR KAMANA AND THROUGH THEM
THE COMMITTEE OF 24 AND THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, FOR
THEIR WORK IN ORGANIZING THE CONFERENCE. I WOULD ALSO
LIKE TO THANK OUR HOST, THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE, FOR

ITS HOSPITALITY HERE IN MAPUTO.

3. "I HAVE COME TO MAPUTO BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO BE STRONGLY REPRESENTED AT THIS CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. I HAVE COME TO MAPUTO BECAUSE ONE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FIRST ACTS WAS TO DEMAND A NEW AND PROGRESSIVE POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA. AND, I AM HERE BECAUSE A PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS REQUIRES THAT I BE HERE.

4. "I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO SPEAK TO ALL OF YOU GATHERED HERE; TO SPEAK TO YOU OPENLY ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE POLICY OF MY GOVERNMENT TOWARD THE PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE, BY THE AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONFERENCE AND IN OTHER WAYS

- THAT WE HAVE A STRONG AND ABIDING INTEREST IN AFRICA;
- THAT WE WANT IT TO DEVELOP, PROSPER AND BE FREE;
- THAT WE VERY MUCH WANT TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES MORE CLOSELY AND WORK WITH AFRICANS ON A BROAD RANGE OF MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST;
- THAT WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THERE MUST BE AN END TO THE DEPRIVATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE

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SOLELY BECAUSE OF THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN; AND

- THAT THESE LAST VESTIGES OF COLONIALISM MUST GIVE WAY TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE BASED ON THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

5. "WE ARE IN A RACE AGAINST TIME REGARDING NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. THE FUTURE OF THOSE TWO COUNTRIES AND THE FATE OF THEIR PEOPLE IS CERTAIN - LIBERATION. WE ARE HERE TO DISCUSS MEASURES THAT CAN HASTEN THE INEVITABLE DAY OF FREEDOM. WE ALL KNOW THAT AMONG THESE MEASURES WILL BE CONTINUING MILITARY EFFORTS BY THE LIBERATION FORCES. THEY WILL INSIST ON CONTINUING THEIR STRUGGLE AS LONG AS FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL RIGHTS ARE DENIED THE MAJORITY IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA.

6. "THE ARMED STRUGGLE, HOWEVER, THOUGH ITS FINAL OUTCOME IS INEVITABLE, EXACTS A CRUEL PRICE FROM THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. AFRICANS NEED THE LEADERSHIP THAT WILL BE LOST IN A PROLONGED STRUGGLE; IT NEEDS THE INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WILL BE DESTROYED IN EXTENDED MILITARY CONFLICT. THIS IS WHY ALL HERE - WHATEVER THEIR VIEWS - MUST SUPPORT EFFORTS TO PRESS AHEAD WITH ANY PROMISING APPROACH TO AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS IS WHY ONE OBJECTIVE OF THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD BE TO MAKE

IT CLEAR THAT UN MEMBERS, AS ALWAYS, PREFER A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHERE IT CAN BE FOUND.

7. "THE POLICIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA REFLECT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. PRESIDENT CARTER MADE IT CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS REQUIRED JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT OUR POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ALSO GROWS OUT OF OUR POLICY TOWARD AFRICA AS A WHOLE, A POLICY BASED ON SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DIGNITY FOR ALL AFRICAN
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NATIONS. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH AFRICAN NATIONS ON MUTUAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONCERNS.

8. " DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, I HAVE PARTICIPATED PERSONALLY IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT THE TIME REMAINING FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IS BRIEF. WE THEREFORE URGENTLY EMBARKED ON SEVERAL INITIATIVES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SEVERAL OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE TOOK THESE INITIATIVES ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA BECAUSE OF THE CLEAR NECESSITY OF RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS WHILE TIME REMAINS. RECENT MILITARY TENSION INVOLVING THE ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME AND ITS NEIGHBORS REVEALS HOW COMBUSTIBLE THE SITUATION HAS BECOME. THE UNITED STATES CONDEMNS THE RHODESIAN MILITARY INCURSION INTO BOTSWANA AND THE RHODESIAN THREAT AGAINST ZAMBIA.

9. "AT THE HEAD OF TENSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA LIES THE SMOLDERING RACIAL CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THERE AS WELL TIME IS THE ENEMY. REFUSAL TO TAKE DARING STEPS NOW WILL MAKE PROGRESS LATER MUCH MORE PAINFUL, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. THE U.S. WILL THEREFORE LET THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT KNOW THAT THIS AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST BEGIN NOW.

10. "TOWARD THIS END, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE WILL BE MEETING IN VIENNA TODAY AND TOMORROW WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE WE ARE MEETING IN MAPUTO, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE WILL BE CONVEYING TO MR. VORSTER ALL ASPECTS OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE WILL BE EXPRESSING U.S. SUPPORT FOR BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA, AND FOR THE EFFORT OF THE FIVE-POWER CONTACT GROUPS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED
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SOLUTION FOR NAMIBIA CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR URGENT PROGRESS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND FOR FUNDAMENTAL, POSITIVE CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND STABILITY FOR THE ENTIRE REGION.

11. "LET ME TURN TO THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE. IT IS MY STRONG BELIEF THAT AS WE DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA, HERE IN MAPUTO, WE SHOULD DO SO IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION, AND WITH A FOCUS ON CONTRIBUTING TO RAPID SOLUTIONS TO THE ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA DISPUTES WHICH WILL MINIMIZE THE COSTS IN TERMS OF HUMAN LIVES. THIS CONFERENCE OFFERS US AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE TOGETHER THE WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN JOINTLY PLAN WORKABLE SOLUTIONS. THE DECLARATION WE ADOPT AT THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD STATE CLEARLY AND CONCISELY OUR GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS IN APPROACHING THIS PROBLEM. AND IT SHOULD KEEP OPEN ALL ROADS TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

12. "OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE BEEN WORKING TOGETHER ON AN INITIATIVE TO HELP FIND A SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. AS MOST OF YOU KNOW, THE APPROACH ORIGINATED WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED JOINT DEMARCHE TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA ON APRIL 7. AT THAT MEETING, MR. VORSTER WAS TOLD OF THE NECESSITY FOR A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA CONSISTENT WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. IT WAS EXPRESSED TO HIM THAT AN ABSENCE OF PROGRESS TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION WOULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

13. "FROM APRIL 27 TO 29, OFFICIALS OF THE BRITISH, CANADIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS MET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIALS IN CAPE TOWN TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE VIEWS OF THE WEST ON NAMIBIA.
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THE DISCUSSIONS CENTERED AROUND IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 385, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING FREE ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA UNDER UN SUPERVISION. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FIVE COUNTRIES EXPRESSED THEIR STRONG VIEW THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM SHOULD AVOID ANY STEPS WHICH WOULD FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. THE WESTERN DELEGATES INFORMED THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN PARTICULAR THAT THE REPORTED PLANS TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA BASED ON THE CONSTITUTION DEVELOPED BY THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

14. "FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, INCLUDING SEVERAL SESSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, THE CONTACT GROUP SET OUT TO DISCUSS THE POINTS RAISED DURING THE TALKS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. WE HAVE ONLY JUST COMPLETED INFORMING THE SECRETARY GENERAL, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES, OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS, SWAPO, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS POLITICAL GROUPS INSIDE NAMIBIA. WE INTEND TO FOLLOW UP AGGRESSIVELY ON THE NEXT STAGE OF THIS PROCESS, TO CONSOLIDATE THE POINTS ON WHICH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, TO CLARIFY NEW POINTS THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED AND TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ALL PARTIES PARTICULARLY INTERESTED AFRICAN STATES AND SWAPO. AS OUR HOST, PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL, STRESSED IN THE OPENING ADDRESS, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, CONSTITUTES A PLATFORM PROVIDING FOR A "JUST SOLUTION" OF THE NAMIBIAN CONFLICT. WE ARE DETERMINED TO PRESS AHEAD WITH THIS PLATFORM PRECISELY BECAUSE IT DOES PROVIDE A JUST SOLUTION. OUR INITIATIVES WITH THE OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE TAKEN IN THAT CONTEXT. WE WILL AGGRESSIVELY POINT OUT TO SOUTH AFRICA THAT RESOLUTION 385 OFFERS IT A FINAL CHANCE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IF IT ACTS NOW.

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15. "ON ZIMBABWE, SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE RECENTLY MET WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN TO CONSIDER THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IN LIGHT OF SECRETARY OWEN'S TRIP TO AFRICA. AS MY COLLEAGUE, MINISTER TED ROWLANDS, HAS INFORMED YOU, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES TO THE RHODESIAN CONFLICT WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALISBURY. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY JOHN GRAHAM, WHO WILL HEAD THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE PURPOSE OF THE GROUP WILL BE TO ENGAGE IN DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION FOR ZIMBABWE AS WELL AS THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. WE OFFER OUR ASSISTANCE IN A SUPPORTIVE MANNER. WE RECOGNIZE BRITAIN'S SPECIAL ROLE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT WE CAN ONLY BE HELPFUL IF THE KEY PARTIES INVOLVED BELIEVE WE CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE.

16. "WE INTEND TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ALL PARTIES DURING THIS PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS TO MOVE FORWARD THE PROCESS LEADING TOWARD MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES OF VIEW, NOT ONLY BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES, BETWEEN THE SMITH REGIME AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT AMONG BLACKS THEMSELVES. OUR HOPE IS THAT AS CONSULTATIONS PROCEED,

THESE DIFFERENCES CAN BE BRIDGED AND A FREE ZIMBABWE WILL BE A UNITED ZIMBABWE. WE ARE NOT NAIVE IN THINKING THAT UNRAVELING A PROBLEM LIKE THE RHODESIAN SITUATION, WHICH HAS BEEN A LONG TIME IN CREATION, WILL BE EASY. BUT I WILL PLEDGE TO YOU TODAY OUR SUPPORT AND BEST EFFORTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM SO THAT WE MAY SEE AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

17. "IT IS THE VIEW OF MY GOVERNMENT THAT THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA WHICH HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED
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HAVE A CHANCE FOR SUCCESS. FOR THIS TO HAPPEN, WE MUST BE INVOLVED AT EVERY STAGE OF UN DISCUSSION OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. THAT IS ONE REASON WHY THE U.S. IS ATTENDING THIS CONFERENCE.

NOT ALL VIEWS WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED HERE ACCORD WITH U.S. POLICY. BUT LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT THE GOALS OF FREEDOM AND LIBERATION ARE FUNDAMENTAL IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THE ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT IS SEEKING APPROPRIATE WAYS TO PROMOTE THESE GOALS THROUGH THE AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT NOT ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL AGREE WITH EVERY DETAIL OF THE INITIATIVES WE HAVE TAKEN, ALL MEMBER NATIONS, AND THIS CONFERENCE IN PARTICULAR, SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY THESE INITIATIVES. WE BELIEVE THE FINAL CONFERENCE COMMITMENT SHOULD REFLECT THIS FACT.

18. "I HAVE STRESSED TODAY AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. OUR REASONS INVOLVE NOT ONLY OUR COMMITMENT TO NONVIOLENT SOLUTIONS, BUT ALSO OUR REALIZATION THAT AFRICA NEEDS PEACE URGENTLY TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THAT IS THE REAL CHALLENGE IN AFRICA.

19. "WE RECOGNIZE THAT CONTINUING ARMED STRUGGLE IS BEING WAGED, ESPECIALLY IN ZIMBABWE. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE FIGHTING WILL BE BROUGHT TO AN EARLY END. WE WILL DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO END THE INJUSTICES WHICH HAVE LED TO VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED, AND TO EFFECT AN EARLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA.

20. "LET ME CONCLUDE BY STATING MY DESIRE TO CONTINUE MEETING WITH DELEGATES TO THIS CONFERENCE AND HAVING FRANK AND SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THE ISSUES WE ARE CONSIDERING HERE. WE ALL MUST TALK TOGETHER AND UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S VIEWS. OUR GOAL MUST BE TO ENCOURAGE CHANGE IN A WAY THAT CAN MINIMIZE VIOLENCE. IN DOING THIS, WE SERVE OUR
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OVERALL GOAL - MANIFESTING OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PEOPLE OF
NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AND WORKING FOR EARLY INDEPENDENCE
AND MAJORITY RULE IN THESE TWO CRITICAL COUNTRIES."

END TEXT

21. WILL SEND YOU AN "AS DELIVERED" TEXT AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE BUT THIS WILL NOT BE EASY GIVEN FACILITIES HERE.
DE PREE UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

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